

CLARITY  
AND  
ACTION

# Young Spartacus

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WORKERS  
OF THE WORLD,  
UNITE!

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## For the Organization of the Chicago Students

Will Chicago's public schools remain open or shut down at the end of the present term on February 1st? This is the problem facing Chicago. A number of night schools have already closed their doors. It is certain that Crane College, the only free public college in the city will soon shut.

The city owes its employees, primarily teachers, \$20,000,000 for many months pay. The teachers have spent all their little savings (or had them disappear in bank crashes), have exhausted the resources of their friends and must give up their free labor.

As a piece of unplanned irony, concurrently with this acute problem, a "whoopsie" trial, exposing graft of millions of dollars is being conducted. The steady drain of the grafters, the consistent under-valuation for tax purposes of the property of the large landlords and corporations, and the inability of the little tax payer to meet his bills, due to the depression, have depleted the city treasury.

For the working class of Chicago the problem has sinister significance. In the depression, the school rooms have been the only refuge for many a working class child from his or her overheated home. The problem is even greater than this. To allow the city to close any school, no matter what grade, would be a veiled but real attack upon the standard of living of the working class.

### The Struggle For Free Schools

Free public schools although every reactionary swears by them at present, were once looked upon as a revolutionary demand. The early labor movement in the United States in the 1820's, 30's, 40's, fought for and wrested this gain from the rulers of the land. True, capitalism requires of its wage slave a certain amount of education. But it tries to keep this education down to the minimum. Every year of schooling over this minimum that we succeed in gaining raises the standard of living and outlook of the workers. The bosses have to give up part of their looted surplus value, their profits, in order to establish these schools, and then raise the workers' wage to allow them to keep their children in school these additional years.

The attempt of the bosses to close down free colleges and high schools under the cry of "economy" must be fought tooth and nail by the working class, and

## Disarmament and Pacifism

On February 2, 1932, the Disarmament Conference called by the League of Nations will convene at Geneva. This conference is to give consideration to the limitation of armaments by the various powers. It will talk much on the need to "outlaw" war as the way to solve the economic and political rivalries and differences between nations. The head of the delegation from the United States is Charles G. Dawes, U. S. Ambassador to Great Britain, and an outstanding militarist or "jingo". In the delegation also is included a pacifist flower, Mary Emma Wooley, president of Mount Holyoke College. Other nations are sending similar delegations, including of course "labor" representation, that is, betrayers of labor, such as Arthur Henderson of Great Britain who will be the Chairman of the Geneva Conference.

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by those directly affected, the working working class students, both youth and children. This is the task of the Y. C. L. and Young Pioneers. Demonstrations must be arranged, protests organized. The students must be aroused. Above all, a labor united front of working class parents, youth and children must be formed on a common minimum program. Labor won free schools; labor will keep them.

To initiate this movement is the duty of the Y. C. L. Whether it will do so, or will allow the corrupt, reactionary politicians and newspapers to corral and mislead this potential movement of struggles will soon be seen.

—C. CURTIS.

## Greetings from Spain

Madrid  
Dec. 8, 1931.

Editorial Board,  
Young Spartacus,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

We have received with great satisfaction and enthusiasm the first issue of your new publication, **YOUNG SPARTACUS**, which is destined to be what the first issue promises, the organ of orientation and combat for the revolutionary proletarian youth of the United States of America.

## Comrade Trotsky on the Communist Youth

Since the victory of the Right-Center bloc in the Communist International, the youth movement suffered a continuous decline. Both politically and organizationally the Young Communist International has sustained almost uninterrupted defeats. The defeat of the Left Opposition, carried through by vicious persecution and repressions, witnessed the dragging of the Y. C. I. behind the tail of Stalinism. In this situation the Y. C. I. was reduced to another body that raised its hand against the Opposition. The life of the organization was strangled. The education of its membership, if not entirely neglected, was pushed so far into the background that for all practical purposes it did not exist. Likewise the struggle to win the working youth is a formula to be used on rare occasions, but is not seriously taken up. Primarily the Y. C. I. is reduced to one of the weapons in the struggle against the Opposition. Under these circumstances it has been reduced to a shell of its former self.

It was on this that comrade Trotsky spoke many times. He considers the present state of the youth movement as one of the darkest spots in the development of the International Communist movement, particularly because of the possibilities that exist for developing and extending its organization. "The youth are one of our main strongholds in the revolutionary struggle and it is hard to accept the ruinous state of its organization. The degeneration of the apparatus, added to the false politics of Centrism, is directly responsible for this state of affairs," he said to us.

### The Russian Y. C. L.

We discussed at length the Russian Y. C. L. The only youth league that grew uninterruptedly was the Russian League. This is understandable in view

## Anti-War Conference

Rally Young Workers and Students Against Militarism

**NEW YORK**—On Sunday, January 3, 1932, an anti-war conference was held in New York City. The conference was called through a provisional committee organized by the Young Communist League. About 200 delegates were present representing pacifist and student youth groups, the Y. C. L. and sympathetic bodies, the Young Defenders, the International Workers Order Youth, Labor Sports Union, etc. There were also there as delegates comrades Carter and Kent of the Youth Section, N. Y. branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and comrades Sterling and

Craine of the Marxian Youth Club. All delegates were seated, with the proviso that the incoming Council is to check up on all organizations to see if they are "bona fide" and to eliminate all "disrupters".

On the report on two Resolutions comrade J. Carter, delegate from the Communist League (Opposition)—Youth section, was finally able to get the floor. Efforts by our delegates to obtain the floor, though names had been put in at the beginning, had been unsuccessful. Comrade Carter pointed out some weaknesses of the resolution, such as: No mention of the growing danger of fascism in Germany, which, if victorious, would mean a more reactionary Europe and therefore, too, increase the imminence of the danger of a capitalist war drive against the Soviet Union. It was demonstrated that the forthcoming Disarmament Conference at Geneva was nothing but a fraud to confuse and lull the working class to sleep, into a false sense of security. Quoting the statement of Litvinov, Commissar of Foreign Affairs for the Soviet Union, that: "My Government is prepared insofar as is required, to cooperate in every way for the success of the Disarmament Conference" (*Soviet Union Review*, Dec. 1931), he proposed that the conference add a clause to the general resolution, namely: That we regret that the Soviet Union, which has always been in the forefront of the struggle for peace and socialism at this time supports the coming Disarmament Conference and sends delegates to cooperate in it, without adequately pointing out the impossibility of disarmament under capitalism, and showing the imperialist maneuvers and aims behind the disarmament smoke-screen.

### Anti-War Youth League Formed

The proposal of our delegates on the German situation, was unanimously accepted. Our amendment on the Disarmament Conference and the Soviet Union was rejected after George Siskind of the Communist party tried to explain it away and, in Stalinist fashion, distorted our point of view. Our comrades were refused the floor to reply to him. Simons of the Anti-Imperialist League moved that our motion be considered "anti-Soviet and playing the game of the imperialists". Our comrades were again refused the floor to reply to the slanders of this well-known Stalinist flunkey. The motion was put and carried.

The Left Opposition greets the seating of its delegates as a step in the correct direction, but it has no illusions as to the desires of the official Stalinist leadership on this question.

The anti-war youth conference decided to launch a permanent organization called the Anti-War Youth League. We will participate actively in this movement. What will come of the movement depends largely upon whether or not the Y. C. L. follows a Leninist policy. —M. KENT.

### Germany and Fascism

A new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky called "Germany—The Key to the International Situation" has just been issued. It consists of a brilliant analysis called "Shall Fascism Really Be Victorious?", an article, "For A Workers' United Front against Fascism" and an appendix containing a document of the German Left Opposition. Ten cents a copy.

Send orders to: Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th St., New York City.

—A. G.

## Young Communist Joins Left Opposition

Having been expelled from the Y. C. L. some five months ago for an energetic fight against bureaucracy and having during this time made a thoro study of the history and program of the Left Opposition, I now want to make a declaration of principles regarding my stand. I wish to state that at the present time I am in full agreement with the Left Opposition, and am concretizing my theoretical agreement into an organizational act. I now take my place in the ranks of the Left Opposition.

The fight in which I took part and which led to my expulsion started, and for a long time centered around the question of the procedure of the N. E. C. prior to and at the last "Convention" of the Y. C. L. In opposition to the national bureaucrats of the League who absolutely suppressed the pre-convention discussion, we fought for an open and broad discussion. The fact that the National Committee was so eager to avoid a broad discussion proved to us that they had something to lose by such a course. On looking over the League situation soberly and finding failure on every side, we (that is, the other comrades who fought with me and I) drew the conclusion that the N. C. was proceeding on their course in order not to expose its bankruptcy. After charging the N. C. with political bankruptcy, the local bureaucrats at first launched a campaign of slander against us, then removed us from the District Buro, and finally expelled us. Thus they proved the fact that they are good disciples of Stalinism.

During the fight many questions developed in my mind, how did the present situation originate? If the political line

of the Comintern is correct, how is it that the revolutionary movement is making no serious gains in an objectively favorable situation? Many times during the fight, the local bureaucrats of the Party and League, caught in quandry, had hurled the charge of Trotskyism at me. To the study of "Trotskyism" I now turned my attention. The more I studied the works of Trotsky, the more I realized that "Trotskyism" is really Marxism, and that the theories now current in the official Party and League is a revision of Marxism. At last I understood how on the crest of the wave of bourgeois reaction and the defeats of the working class at the time of Lenin's death, the Left faction in the Russian Bolshevik Party led by Trotsky was defeated and Stalinism took the helm.

The systematic revision of Marxism, beginning with the theory of socialism in one country as opposed to the Marxian theory of the Permanent revolution has resulted in a series of defeats of the working class, including such major defeats as the Chinese Revolution and others.

Today there is only one force that is holding up the banner of Marxism. Though its present size is small it is nevertheless a growing force. The Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky is the only force that is fighting Stalinist revisionism and for a correct Marxian program.

In taking my place in the ranks of the Left Opposition I call upon all sincere Communists to study the program of the Left and not to remain in ignorance of it.

—NORMAN SATIR.

(Former member Chicago D. E. C. delegate to last National Convention Y. C. L.)

## Social Basis of Crime

Holdup! Robbery! Kidnapping! Arrests! Convictions! The yellow journals have no need to invent sensational stories today. Never was the percentage of robbers so high. Never has the underworld been so much in the public eye as today. The Hollywood glorification of the gangster is but the reflection of a mental condition prevalent in a large section of the so-called "modern youth". The apprehension of any criminal is hailed by the moralizing sycophants as a triumph of law and order over "anarchy". But no sooner has the ink grown dry over their babbling than they are faced with similar incidents on a larger scale. And who are the reprobates? Hardened, grizzly, middle-aged men? Seldom.

Young people between the ages of 18 and 25 are those to be seen on the police docks answering criminal charges. A wonderful occasion for preachers to peddle their stuff. This, they say, is the result of the "new fangled" notions of the modern youth who smokes, drinks—and doesn't attend church regularly. No intelligent person believes this view any more than the church holds now to the biblical contention that the sun revolves around the earth.

### The Economic Basis of Crime

The crime wave began to assume huge proportions in America with the opening of the twentieth century. The unsettled West at an earlier date had its men who secured a livelihood by the use of a revolver. But not until the twentieth century have the great urban centers been honeycombed with gangs and underworlds on such a scale. Why? Opportunity ceased to knock on the door. The West became closed to settling. The working man could no longer escape the talons of capitalist exploitation by establishing himself as a farmer. Nor could he rise out of his class into the world of big business. The hypocritical era of "trust busting" Teddy Roosevelt ended with more trusts, monopolies and interlocking directorates than ever before.

The truth of the dictum so universally

seen in Europe—"once a worker, always a worker"—became more obvious in America. What was there for the ambitious youth to do? How was he to lift himself out of his proletarian environment? How was he to alleviate the mitigated privation to which he was doomed? In Europe this question was answered entirely differently than in America.

### Europe and America

Class lines in the old world were always tightly drawn. Feudalism changed to capitalism. But opportunity and advancement under capitalism was hardly distinguishable from the obvious lack of opportunity under feudalism. Naturally, among people condemned to such an environment, class consciousness would be greater. The discontented young worker pinned his hope on organization and the struggle for the abolition of the capitalist system. In America, feudalism never existed. The pioneering days, the free land in the West, the bulding of great fortunes by hook or crook, left an impress of individualism on the American workers. Even after the trusts had closed the doors to new-comers, the idea that his proletarian condition was nobody's fault but his own, dominated the mind of the American young worker. Organization was furthest from his mind. If perseverance, abstinence and hard work failed to advance him up the ladder, then in desperation the young worker would "get his" in true American style. At the point of the gun. Needless to say, he failed. One can no more buck the powerful ruling class by individual terrorism than one can batter down an iron wall with a bean shooter.

### Organize Against the Capitalist System

What is the history of capitalism if not mass burglary (the plundering of colonies) as Japan is doing in Manchuria today, or murder, not on an individual, but on a mass scale, with millions killed for profit in four years of the world war. Behind the flimsy veil of hypocrisy, the master class is more satisfied when a young proletarian becomes a hold-up man than

## Disarmament and Pacifism

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### The Cost of Armaments

None of the nations represented at Geneva have the slightest faith that anything will be done there that will lessen armaments costs or diminish the likelihood of war. Warfare is costly indeed, but in one way or another the capitalist class of each country sees no final way out of the imperialist rivalries except military clashes to decide who gets the spoils of war and the right of exploitation of the masses. That which is useless or out of date now in the way of military equipment will be discarded, but each nation will remain armed to the teeth, "keep its powder dry" for the sake of "national defense".

The cost of armaments and war was increased tremendously in recent years, in these very years of idle talk of disarmament and the "outlawry" of war. The following figures, compiled by the World Peace Foundation from the League of Nations armaments Year Book, give the expenditure for the fiscal year of 1930:

Government	Budget Expenditures
United States	\$707,425,000
France	466,960,000
Great Britain	465,255,000
Italy	248,946,500
Japan	236,861,500
Germany	171,923,040

### Imperialist Differences and the Soviet Union

Once again the imperialist rivalries, particularly between the United States and Great Britain, are reaching that acute point which knows no other solution except war. Even now war is on in Manchuria where Japan plunges on to pillage Manchuria, dominate China and obtain her share of imperialist control and domination in the Far East. Divided as the capitalist nations are among themselves, they at the same time eye with hatred the Workers Republic of the Soviet Union which, as the first fortress of the international proletarian revolution, threatens all capitalist existence. This hatred and fear of the Soviet Union brings sharply before everyone the growth of the danger of an united imperialist onslaught against the U. S. S. R.

The co-existence of the Soviet Union and the capitalist nations side by side is the outstanding anachronism or contradiction in the world and one or the other must fall before the other—that is, either capitalism must be beaten down internationally by the working class or the Soviet Union and all the hopes it represents for the toiling masses will go down before the capitalist attack. This attack in time will again take the form of military assault, as it did in the early years of the existence of the Soviet Union.

### Pacifism and Disarmament Nonsense

Pacifists may dream or pray for disarmament and for the "outlawry" of war. No one wants and needs peace more than the working class, which always bears the greatest burden of war and armaments. But the time has not yet come for the "beating of the swords into plough-shares" Not so long as economic classes or vestiges of class divisions exist.

when he joins a union. They use gangsters today to break up working class organizations and to slug and shoot strikers. And, then, the gunman of today is the Fascist of tomorrow. The ruling class would a thousand times rather pay a meagre tribute to thugs than see the workers organized. We communists discourage individual terror, burglary, robbery, etc., not from the point of view of "right and wrong", but because the young worker can never get anywhere by such methods. His only salvation lies in the overthrow of the capitalist system. To that end all workers, young and old, must bend their efforts.

—GEORGE CLARKE.

The pacifists, made up largely of the middle class, a class caught between the two major class forces in society,—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—baffled about from all sides, victims also of capitalist power and militarism, look to disarmament movements, a policy of refusal to bear arms, etc., as the solution to the problem of militarism and war.

The working class, especially the working class youth which must carry the direct load of war—go into the trenches, etc.—cannot have any such ideas for the solution of war. "Conscientious objection, anti-war strike, and so on," says Lenin, "are just stupidities, pitiful and poor-spirited dreams of unarmed struggle against the armed bourgeoisie, of the ending of capitalism without a desperate civil war or a series of wars . . . Away with the parsonical, sentimental, absurd dreaming about 'peace at any price'."

### What Is Government?

The working class must see war as a class problem: on which side does one stand? Militarism and war are only the extension of capitalist rivalries, or,—more important and significant for the ultimate destiny of the masses—of growing class antagonisms between the world's capitalist class and the Soviet Republic and the workers of the world. So long as class society exists, there will be governments. That means among other things, armies, navies, airplanes,—soldiers, sailors, marines, etc. Government is force, as George Washington plainly said, and government means the power to enforce its will—the will of the class it represents—upon the class it rules. Capitalist government means domination of the capitalists over the mass of workers, young and old, man or woman, black or white, Baptist, Catholic, Jew or atheist. In times of war, it means the power of the capitalist class to compel the arming of the workers against another country; it means the authority to order workers to shoot down the workers of another country in the interests of the capitalist class.

### No Peace Till Workers Rule

For the youth, as for other workers, it is imperative that he learns the class nature of society and of government and of warfare. When he learns these lessons he will have made headway in the fundamental question. **Between classes there can be no peace till one or the other is vanquished.** The workers have to understand that the road to peace lies through war: class war, class struggle. When war comes, the working class youth will find themselves in war, fighting, to begin with, the bosses' battles,—for the aims and ambitions of American capitalism. For the workers, armed or unarmed, to learn that American capitalism and American Government is their real enemy and not the people they are called upon to fight, is to approach a solution of the question of war and capitalism itself.

### Unite Workers Against Capitalism

The war of the classes is the important one for workingmen, and it must be fought on all fronts: economic, political, military—and the workers in each instance must fight their enemy, the employing class and the government. In Russia, the workers and peasants, clad in the garb of the Czarist soldier or sailor were compelled, in order to achieve peace, bread, land and victory for the working masses, to turn the guns on their class enemies—the officers, to institute insurrection and civil war, to defeat the existing czaristic-capitalist government and, finally to take on the powers of government in the name of the exploited masses—in the name of the Workers Soviet Republic. The workers in every capitalist nation will face this same fundamental problem. The working youth, all workers, must see the fraud behind the disarmament screen and prepare themselves for efficient participation in the class war, whatever form it takes.

—MARTIN ABERN.

**Historical Documents**

**Russian Left Opposition Youth Thesis**

(We print a section from the Platform of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists (Left Opposition) which is under the leadership of comrade L. D. Trotsky. The platform was introduced into the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party by 13 members of the Central Committee in September, 1927. Those who wish to read the entire Platform may do so by obtaining copies of "The Real Situation in Russia".—Eds.)

The wrong political course and the organizational repression is carried over with its full force, and often indeed with increased force, into the League of Communist Youth. The international education of the young workers is being more and more pushed into the background. All critical thinking is being suppressed and persecuted. For positions of leadership in the Communist youth organization, the party apparatus demands first of all "obedience", and readiness to bait the Opposition. The proletarian part of the lower organizations, the fundamentally healthy part, is deprived of all individuality by this regime. Here, even more than in the party, the mistaken policy pursued at the top opens the road for petty-bourgeois influences.

Of late years the League of Communist Youth has grown rapidly in membership, but at the cost of a deterioration in its social composition. From the time of the Thirteenth Congress of the party, the proletarian nucleus within this organization has fallen from 40.1 percent to 34.4 percent, and the number of young workers employed in the industries from 49.8 percent to 47 percent. The political activity of the young workers is also diminishing.

**Y. C. L. Losing Proletarian Support**

In these circumstances it was an exceedingly crude mistake, capable only of widening the separation between the League and the mass of working-class youth, to adopt that series of recent decisions which lowered still further, and in violation of the resolutions of the Fourteenth Congress, the situation of the young worker (cutting down of the regulations protecting apprentices, of the special wage-scale for apprentices, restriction of the number of apprentices in industrial schools—and here also belongs the attempt to introduce unpaid apprenticeship).

The League of Communist Youth in the country is more and more losing its proletarian and poor peasant support. Its cultural economic work in the country is pushing principally along the line of developing individual undertakings. The relative weight of the poor is systematically falling everywhere—in the general composition of the rural locals, in the active staff, in the nucleus composed of party members. Along with the continual diminishing of the influx of young city workers, the League is filling up in the country with the middle and well-off peasant youth.

**The Increase of Petit-Bourgeois Elements**

As in the city, so also in the country the tendency of the petty-bourgeois elements to get hold of the leadership of the League is growing. The group of clerical workers and "miscellaneous" is playing a more and more considerable role, especially in the rural organizations.

Thirty-six percent of all of our new party members come from the ranks of the League of Communist Youth (Pravda, July 14, 1927) However, within the party nucleus of the League, from one-fourth to one-third are non-proletarian. In the party nuclei of the rural organizations, the middle peasants are rapidly gaining at the expense of the farm-hands and the poor peasants. (Twenty percent were middle peasants in 1925, 32.5 percent in 1927). Thus the League of Communist Youth is being transformed into one of

the sources for the dilution of the party with petty-bourgeois elements. In order to prevent the further weakening of the dominant role of the proletarian nucleus and its relegation to the background clerical workers, and well-off layers in by newcomers from the intelligentsia, the country, inevitably entailing a petty-bourgeois degeneration of the League, the following measures are necessary:

**The Opposition Program for the Y. C. L.**

1. To put an immediate stop to the gradual annulment of our revolutionary conquests in the sphere of the labor and education of the young proletarian—to revoke all those recent measures which lower the conditions of his work. That is one of the principal premises for the struggle against the morbid tendencies in the League of Communist Youth (drunkenness, hooliganism, etc.).

2. In proportion to the growth of the general well-being of the working class, to elevate, systematically and resolutely, the material and cultural level of the young workers by means of higher wages, broadening of the network of industrial schools and trade courses, etc.

3. To carry out the decision of previous party and Communist Youth congresses, as to the enrollment in the League of 100 percent young city workers and rural proletarians in the course of the next few years.

4. To intensify the work of attracting into the League the poor peasant youth.

5. To attract into the League the weak middle peasants, and from the rest of the middle peasants only those who have been tested in social work, and especially in the work of struggling against the Kulak.

6. To increase the League's defense of the interests of the poor, directing its work toward the creation of a new rural society, not along the path of individual enrichment, but along the path of cooperation and the collectivization of agriculture.

7. To improve the social composition of the party nucleus, permitting recruitment during the next two years only from workers, farm-hands and poor peasants.

**For A Democratic Regime**

8. To make the governing staff of the organs of the Communist youth proletarian, systematically and resolutely advancing the farm-hands and the poor into positions of leadership. To ordain that in the great proletarian centers, the Gubernia committees and Rayon committees of the League and the bureaus of these committees, should consist, in an overwhelming majority, of workers in the shops, and that the latter should really be drawn into the task of leadership.

9. To wage a serious struggle against bureaucratism in the League. To cut down decisively the paid officialdom, reducing it to the unconditionally necessary minimum. To accomplish at least a half, and in industrial centers three-quarters, of the work of the League through the unpaid efforts of its members, to attract more and more of the rank and file members of the constituent parts of the united leagues into the work of the central organization.

10. The cultural and educational work of the League should be closely bound up with an active daily participation in the general political life of the party, the soviets, the trade unions and the cooperatives.

11. Put an end to the rubber-stamp regime, the deadening regime of orders from above, the lying and ignorant regime of cribs and "instructions" for Opposition-baiting. Introduce in its place the series study of Marxism and Leninism, upon the basis of live judgment comradesly exchange of opinions, and a real, not an imitation, acquisition

**Child Labor in America**

The rosy-cheeked youth of America beams forth its lovely radiance from the subway ads. Out of the newspaper photogravure sections smiles its glowing milk-fed countenance. Broadcasted widely over the microphone sounds its lisp-ing contentment, "brought to you over the children's hour, by courtesy of station XYZ". Gracing pages of countless children's books, its charm enchants each innocent.

For each young child, a million fables. Wonderful, indeed, this land of beautiful babes. Surely; here there can be but glorious hopes for each child to drink its fill. Here must be things that one can look forward to. Here no child need worry; the bright-eyed babe of today shall become the strong athletic figure of to-morrow. Dream on, ye children, America takes care of its own!

One vast lie! The happy face, the frank eyes that dazzle our sight and steal our hearts away—they are but a vision. They belong to a few. They are faces and voices that belong to the pampered children of the parasites. They are fed by the milk kept from the mouth of workmen's babies. They are reared on money coined from the blood of workers' bodies. They grow strong and vigorous upon the energy and lives of common laborers. They mature to a glowing old age; and the blood corpuscles that regenerate and keep them alive are years torn from the lives of children of the workers.

Yes, the very working class children who devour the books and the "children's hour"; who are soothed and deluded by the thousand and one delights of Santa Claus and the manifold myths which constitute their world of ideas. They are the ones who pay the cost of these illusions and perpetuate their existence.

Vastly different, indeed, is the real picture of American childhood. A picture that leaves one transfixed with horror—the false reflection shattered into bits by the facts. In the cold, prosaic document submitted by the National Child Labor Committee of 1930, a vivid tale of American childhood unfolds itself.

**Youth In America**

Between the ages of ten to nineteen, over five millions of working children do their bit towards helping capitalism reach "unparalleled heights of prosperity". Upon American farms, hundreds of thousands of ten year old children toil—that America may undersell other nations on the world market. The faces and bodies of these children seem strange indeed to us who have just witnessed magic visions of loveliness. For they are faces and bodies of dumb creatures—faces that stare, ugly, repulsive. Bodies that have toiled in the fields day after day; bodies ill-formed, crippled and broken before they have begun to straighten.

Exploitation has taken its toll. The factories greedily draw them in. The children, who could be men, enter the gaping jaws of the mines; and leave

**New Opposition Organs**

The Young Spartacus greets the issuance of the *Unser Kampf*, in the yiddish, and the *Komministes*, in the Greek language, as important steps in reaching the workers of the United States with the message of the Left Opposition. All should support these papers. Those who can read or distribute them should get in touch with either paper at 84 East 10th St., New York City.

of knowledge.

12. Introduce, in deeds and not in words, the democratic regime. Do away with the oppression and veritable persecution of those who hold independent opinions about party questions and League questions. Adhere strictly to the dates provided in the constitution for calling Rayon, Uyesd, Gubernia, etc., conferences and congresses.

their minds and souls deep in the bowels of the earth. Industry owns the lives of six millions of youth between the ages of twenty to twenty-four. Pellagra, poison and accidents claim their outright ownership of young workers' lives. Speed-up, rationalization enter their claim, and extract their deadly tribute. Coupon-clippers clamor for their dividends! and efficiency whirls the belt faster.

On and on, grinding beneath its wheels eleven million young lives, the huge capitalist machine speeds on its reckless course. On its windshield a dancing will-o-the-wisp—a laughing rosy-cheeked child.

Countless numbers of shattered young minds and bodies, education—things of another world and incomprehensible to their brains. "One out of ten never reaches the sixth grade". A picture of a civilization that never became civilized.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

**Mark Twain**

(It is not generally known that the American author, Mark Twain, put forward many views and ideas of a radical and revolutionary nature. The following, a defense of the so-called Red Terror, is to be found in an excellent work of Twain—"The Mysterious Stranger". Eds.)

**TWO REIGNS OF TERROR**

"There were two 'Reigns of Terror' if we could but remember it and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred millions; but our shudders are all for the "horrors" of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak; whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe, compared with life-long death from hunger, cold, insult cruelty and heart-break? What is swift death by lightning compared with death by slow fires at the stake? A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves."—Mark Twain.

**LOYALTY**

"You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is loyalty of unreason it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it."—Mark Twain.

**YOUNG SPARTACUS**

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# Thesis on Youth New York Y.P.S.L. Meet: Its Significance

## Question

In the United States the ideological control of the capitalists over the young workers is maintained and increased by a virtual network of youth organizations. There is hardly an age or interest of the youth which is not covered. The proletarian children, while being taught in the schools to be good wage slaves, are attracted to such groups as the Boy and Girl Scouts where they are further imbued with a military and patriotic spirit. The one million children within the ranks of these two organizations are developed in the spirit of subservience and obedience.

The Y. M. C. A. with its over one and a quarter million members, the Y. W. C. A., six hundred thousand strong, with their yearly budgets of over sixty and a half million and thirty million dollars respectively, are powerful institutions for holding back the youth from struggle. The sports clubs and teams, organized by the bosses in department stores, mail-order houses, factories, the American Athletic Union, with its two million members, as well as the religious youth organizations which have millions of young workers in their ranks are organized and supported for the same or similar purposes.

The petty bourgeois organizations in this country are at present weak and unimportant. However, with the growth of youth militancy and activity, the possibilities for the development of such groups as the Young Peoples' Socialist League, at present having no more than one thousand members, may be realized. Their actual success will depend to some extent on the activities of the Young Communist League and its ability to effectively combat the young socialist organizations.

The gigantic network of bourgeois youth organizations is reinforced by the military and semi-military organizations in the high schools and colleges (for example, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps), the Citizens' Military Training Camps (38,000), the National Guard (180,000) and the Army and Navy (120,000 and 80,000 respectively—exclusive of officers). The struggle for the American youth means a fight against these bourgeois youth and military organizations.

### Auxiliaries

To date, the Y. C. L. has failed in such work. The Labor Sports Union, which can serve as an effective auxiliary to the League, consists of a handful of clubs completely divorced from the American youth. Since the 1930 Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, the American League has attempted to organize a series of youth auxiliaries, the Young Liberator (young Negro organization), the Young Defenders—youth section of International Labor Defense,— Youth sections of International Workers' Order, etc. The young workers attracted to these organizations can easily be won directly for the Y. C. L. The need for these groups does not exist. On the contrary, their formation has resulted in the almost complete stripping of the League of cultural and sports activities. The result: The Y. C. L. deprives itself of the possibility of becoming a mass youth organization; it conducts a minimum of educational and cultural work; it completely immerses itself in "practical" activity, that is, activity which the party bureaucrats lay down for it according to their factional requirements of the moment.

A thorough examination of the functions of Youth auxiliaries, and the actual activities of the existing ones is needed. If this is not done, this important part of League activity will continue to yield no results.

The Y. C. L. can make real progress only by the readmittance of the Left Opposition youth to its ranks and the opening of a thorough discussion on the

The New York City convention of the Y. P. S. L. held December 26-27 reflected the growing influence of the self styled militant group of the Socialist Party among the young socialists. It revealed the ferment going on in the S. P. as a result of the struggle between the three groups, the "Militants", the Kautskian Marxians, and the Right wing stand-patters.

The keynote speeches of the young socialists emphasized that the Y. P. S. L. should pay more attention to organizing the youth, participating in the daily struggles of the young workers and struggle against war. All three groups of the socialist party had their spokesmen. Coleman of the "Militants" spoke for more aggressive action by the S. P. and yipsels, against the official socialist attitude towards the Soviet Union and for "internationalism". He poked fun at the S. P. delegates to the last congress of the Labor and Socialist International, (their support of the League of Nations and disarmament). In speaking of the A. F. of L. he referred to its president, William Green as "a first class one hundred percent second story man". His speech was well received by the assembled delegates.

Charles Solomon, a staunch supporter of the Liberal trend in the Socialist party and the main speaker at the opening session, devoted his entire speech to a polemic against Coleman's remarks. He defended the official attitude of his party on the Soviet Union, internationalism and trade union work. He spent much time in taking to task Coleman for his characterization of William Green. He concluded by saying that the present position of the Socialist party should be supported or "more practical proposals should be made." The derogatory comments he made against the communists were met with by applause.

At subsequent sessions heated discussions took place on the resolutions on the Soviet Union, trade union policy and war. The resolutions of the "Militants" were accepted.

The organizational report claimed 658 members in New York City, a gain of 297 over the previous year, functioning in twenty-five circles or units. These are divided into 480 members in the senior group (17-25 years of age) and 250 in the junior groups (14-17 yrs. of age). The senior groups have a slight majority of workers (mainly light industry, office workers, store clerks) while the juniors have an overwhelming student membership (ten workers in the entire city).

### Revolutionary Phraseology

The resolutions and discussions at the Yipsel convention reveal the confusion in the position of the Left Socialists. On the question of war, they criticize the official socialist policy, suggest the preparation for an international general strike in case of war, advocate the refusal of the young socialists to enter the armed forces, but if compelled to, that they should propagate "by whatever methods may be available".

The fact that once before the social democracy pledged itself to call a general strike if war broke out (Basle-1912) but instead supported their "home" governments; that the socialist international is today throughout Europe supporting the capitalist governments; that Vandervelde, head of the Labor and Socialist International, even today propagates the view of the right of the workers to conduct "national defense" in case of war (See Labour Magazine—Great Britain—Jan. 1931); these are in-

tactics of the present leadership of the League, and the policies of the party which affect the Y. C. L. At the same time, the League must call for the reinstatement into the party of the expelled Left Communists and a free and thorough discussion of its strategy and tactics. In this way a basis will be laid for a complete change in the leadership of the party and league and a return to Marxist policies in the class struggle.

disputable facts to which the young socialists close their eyes.

The advocacy of a general strike against war without seeing that it would mean either the physical suppression of the workers by the armed forces of capitalism, or the conversion of the war into a civil war against the home master class insures the probability of the former. The workers have a choice: being murdered without resistance; fighting for the capitalist war; struggling for their class interests, through a civil war, an armed insurrection, for the overthrow of wage-slavery and its government, the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship as a transition period to socialism. There is no other path that can be pursued.

Similarly work in the armed forces, which should be begun today, should have as its aim the disintegration of the military forces of capitalism and the winning over of the soldiers, sailors, etc. for the revolution. Any other policy is either utopian or will mean the physical annihilation of those who attempt to work in the armed forces. To propose that the young socialist should refuse to enter the army, is to weaken the forces for revolution in the armed forces (if we assume that they will conduct revolutionary activity!).

To suggest, as the most important concrete proposal, as the resolution does, that the Socialist party delegates to the next International Congress, propose a general strike against war not only fails to understand the lessons of the last war and post war period, but illustrates how unrealistic the conception of the Yipsels is: for the Congress will not be convened for several years!

### The Soviet Union

The resolution on the Soviet Union repeats the usual clamor of the Left socialists. In fact, most of it is taken verbatim from Hillquit's "From Marx to Lenin" written around 1920! A worthy source indeed! The Soviet Union is a workers' government, we are told. The U. S. should recognize this government, the workers should see their class affinity with it. But... the "brave", "loyal fighter", i. e., the Mensheviks and S. R's, are being imprisoned they must be released; "ultimately, socialism without democracy is pseudo-socialism". Those who weaken and attempt to overthrow the workers' government; who conspire with the foreign imperialists, in a word who follow the advice of Karl Kautsky, recently reiterated in his "Russia at a Deadlock", should and must be dealt with by the strong arm of the workers' state. Counter-revolutionists, enemies of the Russian workers can be met with in no other way.

But why did not the Yipsel convention propose in unequivocal terms the defense of the Soviet Union in case of war? Or the extension of large scale, long term credits to the Soviet Union by the United States government as a concrete step of solidarity of the American and Russian workers, to aid the Soviet Union in its industrialization and improvement of workers conditions and to give employment to the American workers?

Further, the convention while lamenting the absence of democracy in the Soviet Union did not say as much as a word on the support of the German Social Democratic Party to the Brüning government and its emergency decree, or about the Spanish Socialist party's attack on the workers, their demonstrations and meetings, the arrests of communists (including Left Oppositionists), and the censoring of the communist press in Spain, instigated and supported by the socialists. The honest and sincere young socialists should see the falseness and anti-working class character of the present socialist movement; examine the program of communism and join the ranks of the revolutionary working class, the ranks of communism.

—JOS. C.

## Question and Answer Column

Question: In what does the anarchy under capitalism consist?

Answer: The anarchy inherent in capitalism consists in the fact that each separate capitalist enterprise (factory, plant, commercial house, etc.) or group works always independently, individually, separately from all others without any plans or accounting common to all; works on an uncertain market, without knowing beforehand the exact demand of this market, and most important, without knowing the offers which will be made on the market by all the other capitalist enterprises, working independently of one another. Together with this, each capitalist enterprise strives for the greatest profits for itself, and the most advantageous sale of its commodities on the market. It is not surprising that under these conditions, as a result of the anarchy of capitalism, competition always exists on the market between the various capitalists and capitalist groups.

This competition consists in the fact that separate capitalists and groups carry on a struggle among themselves on the market—a struggle for the sale of their commodities or capital, or in other words, a struggle for the mastery of the market.

\* \* \* \*

Question: What are the factors which make possible a rapid tempo of industrial development under a workers' state?

Answer: 1. Ownership of the basic means of production, distribution and exchange by the workers' state (land, factories, sources of raw materials, railroads, etc.).

2. No parasitic classes squandering the immense wealth created by the workers.

3. Possibility of the state at any given moment to mobilize the necessary resources required by any economic unit.

4. Planning principle (standardization, specialization of factories, combination of factories into a single industrial organization). Elimination of capitalist anarchy of production.

5. Increased provision and regulation in the planning of production considerably alleviates the periods of crises in development, eliminates waste and thereby ensues additional accumulation of wealth.

## Young Spartacus Needs Your Support

Young Spartacus is young and small, but healthy and growing. It can fulfill its functions much better if it can count on adequate support from its readers and supporters.

The National Youth Committee decided at a recent meeting to try to issue **Young Spartacus** as an 8 page paper, double its present size, in the next three months. It is even more desirous and necessary to issue **Young Spartacus** as a semi-monthly publication. All this hoped-for growth depends on the financial help that our readers extend to it.

Even though a four page paper, it costs a good bit of money to issue **Young Spartacus**. We expect our readers to help by sending in a subscription, helping to get subscriptions from others, and by making a donation to **Young Spartacus**.

A subscription to **Young Spartacus** is only fifty cents. A small price for a good paper. If our readers will give the needed financial support to **Young Spartacus**, we will undertake to issue a good paper, capable of appealing to the communist youth and the young workers and students in general in this country. **SEND IN A SUBSCRIPTION TODAY** to:

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